

## Chapter 5

### فرويد، كينغسلي وترولوپ

#### Wandering Eyes in a Trinidadian Landscape

J A K P E A K E

WHILE THE LEGACY OF IMPERIAL, VICTORIAN British literature in the postcolonial Caribbean is considerable, travel writing stands out as one of the most significant British literary genres dealing with the region in the nineteenth century. It is perhaps no accident that travel writing became the *modus operandi* for Victorian writers at a point when Britain's empire was at its height. As Tobias Döring has argued, the genre "has special relevance for the rhetoric of empire with its discursive prominence of 'discovery' and 'exploration', constructing a global space to be traversed, surveyed, mapped, administered and so transformed into a knowable geography as the basis for imperial rule".<sup>1</sup> Yet just as imperial travel writing could be said to produce a "knowable geography" of colonized lands, it likewise exposes a number of anxieties beneath the surface of the text, unveiling that which lies – to paraphrase Fredric Jameson – within the political unconscious of the text.<sup>2</sup>

While a corpus of criticism has accrued over the last forty years in which colonial mythologies have been well documented, it is worth noting that many of the foundational postcolonial works emerged around the 1960s–1970s era of West Indian decolonization. Just as Fanon emphasized the link between language and a colonial culture in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), so postcolonial and Marxist critics like Said and Jameson, in the succeeding decades, would further implicate "literature" as anything but "innocent" in the political sphere.<sup>3</sup> In the wake of these foundational figures, a plethora of postcolonial, Caribbeanist and Americanist criticism has emerged, much

of it geared either towards consideration of the "postcolonial" moment or deconstruction of the colonial moment.

As Caribbean, and specifically anglophone, literary talent came to British and consequently international prominence from the 1950s onwards, with the likes of George Lamming, V.S. Naipaul and Samuel Selvon, the corpus of early Caribbeanist criticism tended towards a progressive evaluation of these new, decolonizing and, subsequently, postcolonial voices. In turning to the postcolonial, this first wave of literary criticism, though keenly aware of the colonial legacy of the region, rarely sought to investigate colonial texts themselves. This task was more often than not left to the creative writer, historian or anthropologist. However, from the 1980s onwards, starting perhaps with Peter Hulme's *Colonial Encounters* (1986), a steady trickle of literary scholars began to tackle the vault of colonial literature dealing with the Caribbean. In *Imperial Eyes* (1992), which deals in part with tropical America, Mary Louise Pratt extended Said's thesis regarding literature's complicity with imperial ideology. According to Pratt, imperial travel literature often engaged in "anti-conquest" narratives which amounted to "strategies of representation whereby European bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony".<sup>4</sup>

In many respects, this chapter seeks to continue in this vein of postcolonial critique. The aim is to draw together the travel writing of James Froude, Charles Kingsley and Anthony Trollope and the historical contexts – not to mention the additional subtexts – in which their writing emerged to reveal the ulterior views underpinning apparently transparent ways of *seeing* or *knowing* Trinidad and its landscape. The term *landscape*, as W.T.J. Mitchell asserts, is itself a medium which is never, as it were, neutral, but always subjective, being "embedded in a tradition of cultural signification and communication, a body of symbolic forms capable of being invoked and reshaped to express different meanings and values".<sup>5</sup> While landscape may often be deemed primarily the subject of the visual arts, it is equally important in literature, as Mitchell reminds us: "all media are mixed media".<sup>6</sup>

Accordingly, the discussion here seeks to trace the role of Trinidadian landscape – or rather, the writers' authorial moulding of it – alongside the influence of visual aesthetics on the British travellers' writing. Particular attention will be given to the picturesque, a genre which became hugely popular in late-eighteenth-century Britain and which played a significant role in shaping the ideological perspectives, if not the material geography,



of the colonial Caribbean. With respect to the British Caribbean, Krista A. Thompson observes that the picturesque was “intrinsically connected to the politics of space, the colonial state’s governance and the control of land and society”.<sup>7</sup> Thompson also contends that “the picturesque undoubtedly shaped physical transformations of parts of the islands’ landscapes”.<sup>8</sup> While it is difficult to assess with any certainty how the travelogues of Froude, Kingsley and Trollope led directly to the alteration of Trinidadian land, it is not too great a claim to say that they were ideologically supportive of a colonial regime which in turn shaped Trinidad’s geography.

In *Consuming the Caribbean*, Mimi Sheller argues that imperial travel writing often operated within “a politics of the picturesque”, whereby “the framing of scenery became an exercise of colonial domination over Caribbean people, informed by literary precedents”.<sup>9</sup> In her view, books such as Kingsley’s *At Last* contributed to subsequent tourists’ and travellers’ perceptions of the Caribbean. Furthermore, travel writing dealing with particular places often influences subsequent travel literature on the area in question. Travelling to Trinidad some seventeen years after Kingsley, Froude is a good case in point, as the sixth chapter of his book *The English in the West Indies* opens with an homage to his friend Kingsley’s exploits in Trinidad: “I might spare myself a description of Trinidad, for the natural features of the place, its forests and gardens, its exquisite flora, the loveliness of its birds and insects, have been described already, with a grace of touch and a fullness of knowledge which I could not rival if I tried, by my dear friend Charles Kingsley.”<sup>10</sup> Froude’s indebtedness to Kingsley’s prior travel writing on Trinidad also suggests an endless, intertextual corpus that exists between all travel writers with respect to the places about which they write. For, as Froude points out, Kingsley “had followed the logs and journals of the Elizabethan adventurers till he had made their genius part of himself” (*EWI*, 52). Acquiring knowledge from previous travellers was, no doubt, part of the course for the professional Victorian travel writer. In the case of Froude, Kingsley and Trollope, their readings appear largely circumscribed to writing that reinforces European cultural and racial chauvinism and that ultimately supports British imperialism.

All three British travel writers’ views of tropical America conform to the common European paradigm in which the region is rendered Edenic, lush and vital on the one hand, and overwhelming, corrupt and hellish on the other.<sup>11</sup> This notion of a superabundant natural world which could be both salubrious and noxious even carries traces of older European fantasies

concerning the Orient.<sup>12</sup> Yet what is clearly distinct about these travelogues, as opposed to the European travel narratives of previous centuries, is the impact of scientific and empirical literature. As John Gillis asserts, from the Enlightenment onwards, scientific travel established the “authority of the eye” with “the focus . . . now on facts”.<sup>13</sup> Although, as Gillis notes, “travel fiction remained immensely popular” in this period, he argues that “science divorced itself from literature in terms of both style and content”.<sup>14</sup> While literature seems to be equated implicitly here with fiction, Gillis does not quite explore the bridge between non-fictional, observational travel writing and scientific discourse. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a plethora of travel accounts emerged in which the thrust of science can be detected through an indebtedness to empiricist methodology and the “authority of the eye”. Yet where the object of scientific writing from the Enlightenment onwards was to strive towards truth, uncovering the working principles of the universe through observation, scientific accounts were themselves given to particular unobserved biases, musings and opinions.

Alexander von Humboldt was perhaps the most illustrious of scientific explorers from Europe to investigate the American tropics thoroughly, inspiring hosts of educated travellers like Kingsley, who mentions him repeatedly in his account of Trinidad. While Humboldt undoubtedly raised the level of scientific knowledge concerning the region, he was still predisposed to European myths regarding the retardation of “civilization” in hot places.<sup>15</sup> The non-fiction travelogues under discussion in this chapter are very much influenced by a scientific movement which valued the “eye”, and yet was also inextricably linked to other nineteenth-century intellectual discourses and, ultimately, a European tradition of framing tropical America. This chapter, therefore, seeks to reveal that the adoption of an apparently neutral “eye/I” in the three Victorian accounts of Trinidad was anything but – following Said’s and Jameson’s leads – apolitical.

Another facet informing the approach taken here is the view which held that the Caribbean was very much connected to the American continent. Alexander von Humboldt arguably set the precedent for the geographical conception of Trinidad’s attachment to the South American mainland. Though he never visited Trinidad, sailing within sight of Tobago and Chacachacare, the westernmost island in the Bocas del Dragón, Humboldt not only wrote of Trinidad from a mainland perspective, but also as a recent remnant of the mainland cast adrift:



The current produced by the Orinoco between the South American Continent and the asphaltic island of Trinidad is so powerful, that ships . . . can scarcely make way against it. This desolate and fearful spot is called the Bay of Sadness (*Golfo Triste*), and its entrance the Dragon's Mouth (*Boca del Drago*). Here isolated cliffs rise tower-like in the midst of the rushing stream. They seem to mark the old rocky barrier . . . which, before it was broken through by the current, connected the island of Trinidad with the coast of Paria.<sup>16</sup>

Humboldt's reflections also find striking parallels with the ideas of modern Caribbean theorists and critics, foremost among them Édouard Glissant and Antonio Benítez-Rojo. In Glissant's words, the Caribbean is "the part that breaks free of the continent and yet is linked to the whole", while for Benítez-Rojo it is "an island bridge connecting in 'another way' North and South America".<sup>17</sup> Both Caribbean theorists associate the Caribbean with the continent, and particularly with the tropical and sub-tropical parts of the continent – or at least those areas in which the impact of the plantation has been significant, such as the US South.<sup>18</sup> From a wider Atlantic perspective, Gillis contends that there has often been too great a tendency to essentialize the difference between islands and continents, belying the fact that they are cultural constructs of "one interconnected world".<sup>19</sup>

The approach taken here builds on these strands of Caribbean and Atlantic theory, locating discourse on Trinidad within a tropical American framework, placing the island in dialogue with the other islands and the tropical American mainland. The prevalence of this vision of a wider Caribbean in the nineteenth century, which connected what in twentieth-century terminology might be dubbed the "insular" Caribbean islands to the tropical American mainland, is evidenced by the travel routes and discussion of all three travellers. Where Trollope journeyed to Trinidad as part of a Caribbean tour which included trips to the Central and South American mainland (Costa Rica, Colombia and Panama), both Froude and Kingsley refer repeatedly to European antecedents – Drake, Henry Morgan and Humboldt – who made their mark on the Caribbean coast of the continent as well as the islands.

As with these earlier figures, Froude, Kingsley and Trollope clearly perceive the Caribbean as linked to all the lands – both islands and mainland – around the Caribbean Basin. Indeed, an island such as Trinidad which represented a stepping stone to South America, perched so close to Venezuela and the headwaters of the Orinoco, no doubt served as a reminder of what British possessions had been lost in the wider continent, namely the United

States. It is this awareness of Britain's waning power in the Americas which colours all three accounts with nostalgia. Rather than operating solely as a retrospective remembrance of Britain's prior glory, nostalgia here seems to be double-edged, inviting a response to, if not a defence of, what remains of the Empire. Each writer touches upon a history in which Britain's foothold in the continent was stronger in contrast to its precarious present-day circumstances. This nostalgia is politically motivated, as the ramifications of Britain losing yet another colony in the Americas, itself a symbol of the Empire's waning grasp on the region, is no doubt intended to act as a call to a British readership. It may be that each writer saw himself as a vanguard of Empire, travelling to the far reaches for the benefit of the nation – and, by extension, the Empire. It is perhaps unsurprising that hope for the future can also be gleaned in their writing of Trinidad, as its potential for development, under British tutelage, plays into a lingering fantasy of imperial expansion and British influence in the region. Its close proximity to the South American mainland made the island an excellent *entrepôt* for trade with the new South American republics, highlighting how small islands might still play an important role in vast empires like Britain's.

### SETTING THE "SEEN"

In 1859, 1869 and 1886, respectively, Trollope, Kingsley and Froude traversed the Atlantic to set foot on Trinidadian soil. The three English men were middle-aged and their literary reputations well established at their points of departure. While Froude's and Trollope's voyages consisted of Caribbean tours, Kingsley spent the majority of his trip in Trinidad. Arriving in Trinidad in the wake of the abolition of slavery, Froude, Kingsley and Trollope all succumbed to the racist essentialism of the era. The "Sybarite" Negro is "lazy" and the British Caribbean, to stay in British hands, requires further labour from the Orient. Accordingly, the indentured Indian or Chinese émigré – the new plantation labourer – is generally ranked above the African in the tally of racial taxonomy.<sup>20</sup> For the connection between the soil, sugar and the new sugar cultivators is inextricably linked to the elevation of Indians or Chinese in nineteenth-century racial taxonomies of the British Caribbean.

As with many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century accounts of the Caribbean, Froude's, Kingsley's and Trollope's travelogues are loaded with nostalgia.



Froude's *The English in the West Indies* opens with the following sentence: "The Colonial Exhibition has come and gone." It continues, "The British race dispersed over the world have celebrated the Jubilee of the Queen with an enthusiasm evidently intended to bear a special and peculiar meaning" (1). The year Froude undertook his Caribbean voyage, the Colonial and Indian Exhibition had been fêted and followed a year later with Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee. While the colonial exhibition trumpeted Britain's colonial exploits, the Jubilee signalled not only Britain's imperial possessions, but also its new relationship with its partially self-governing colonies of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the South African Cape. Their semi-autonomous position suggested a possible fracture, and also hinted at the potential for self-rule for Britain's possessions in the Americas. For Froude, where self-rule among those of "the same blood, the same language, the same habits, the same traditions" would not leave the British Empire "shattered into dishonourable fragments", the Caribbean was entirely contrasting, as "the mass of the population were [once] slaves. . . . To throw countries so variously circumstanced under an identical system would be a wild experiment" (*FWI*, 3, 5).

The future of the colonies, in Froude's narrative, is hanging in the balance and Britain's dealings in the Caribbean may set a marker for the whole empire. Acknowledging that federation may offer the best chance to the colonies, he perceives the Haitian Revolution, Spanish American republicanism and annexation to the United States as distinct threats to the British Caribbean. For Froude, the question of Britain's lingering presence in the Caribbean is one which extends beyond current market evaluations (9–10). If, as Froude reasons, "great nations always treasure the heroic traditions of their fathers", then to let these colonies go – colonies which cost "hundreds of thousands of English lives" – is to falter before the honourable duties to *patria* and patriarchy. Froude contrasts the banality of his era's politics with a golden age in which British daring was proven in the Caribbean Sea. "There Drake and Hawkins", writes Froude, "intercepted the golden stream which flowed from Panama into the exchequer at Madrid"; similarly, "Adventurers, buccaneers, corsairs, privateers" are all lionized as "extraordinary" men, serving their nation "whether disowned or acknowledged" against the imperial forces of the Spanish and French (9). In Froude's words, "The Bow of Ulysses is unstrung." The Classical allusion, which serves as both a secondary title for his travel book and a running trope throughout his account, suggests that the old supremacy of Britain is dissipated. All that is needed is "the true lord

and master" to restring the bow to banish from the kingdom the "pretenders" courting "Penelope Britannia" (14). The allusion asserts the nineteenth-century historian's ideological mission statement: that the Caribbean requires new *British* heroes for a further wave of reconquest.

Froude's harking back to a golden age of imperial exploits bears many parallels with Kingsley's and Trollope's tropical American travelogues. Trollope voices the plaintive longings of Trinidad's planter class to return to the past, "when planters were planters, and slaves were slaves, [and the island] produced cotton [*sic*] up to its very hill-tops. Now", Trollope writes, "it yields nothing but the grass for a few cattle" (*WISM*, 177). While it is true that cotton had enjoyed a short spell of high yields between 1783 and 1789, beginning with the arrival of settlers from the French Caribbean and ending with the spread of parasites across the island, Trinidad's agricultural development had never been extensive in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. Rather, Trollope sees the island as representative of a paradigm of decay and retrogression in the American tropics generally.

Like Froude, Kingsley glories in the past military feats of the British in the Caribbean, recounting the naval successes of admirals Sir Samuel Hood and Baron George Rodney. In summarizing Britain's exploits in the Caribbean Sea, Kingsley highlights "what these islands have cost us in blood".<sup>21</sup> In his historicism of tropical America, the old conquistadors are represented as figures from a brutish past distinct from the latter generations of European settlers. Just as the "present Spanish landowners of Trinidad . . . do not derive from those old Ruffians", so the nineteenth-century gentleman and explorer bear no ties to the "dumb generation and . . . unlettered" conquistadors (*AL*, 27, 190). Kingsley summarizes the difference between these two phases of colonialism in the American tropics accordingly: "They did not, as we do now, analyse and describe their own impressions: but they felt them nevertheless . . . because they could not utter them; and so went, half intoxicated . . . with the beauty and wonder . . . till the excitement overpowered alike their reason and their conscience" (27).

Enlightenment ideals of analysis, observation, empiricism, reason, temperance, order and utterance are considered the markers which distinguish the men such as Kingsley from their predecessors. Unlike Kingsley's contemporaries, these earlier Europeans are represented as degenerate figures "gone native", having lost their wits through overstimulation in tropical America. Yet in spite of his partial historicism, Kingsley envisions himself as following



a path from Europe to the Americas in the wake of "three great names": Christopher Columbus, Walter Raleigh and Alexander Von Humboldt (AL, 65).<sup>22</sup> In aligning himself with these three figures, Kingsley positions himself as a successor to a mythological European lineage of exploration in the Americas whose *telos* is increasingly scientific.

Throughout *At Last*, Kingsley envisages the American tropics as a laboratory site of experimentation, in which human, animal and plant life can be observed and measured. The colonial mission of appropriating nature continues as a leitmotif, especially in the case of plants and animals, as Kingsley often notes specimens worthy of the English "hothouse" or "zoological garden".<sup>23</sup> Overwhelmed in the bowels of the forest by the sublime and "strange" sights of plants "growing out of the bare yellow loam", Kingsley explicitly identifies Trinidad as "one of Nature's hottest and dampest laboratories" (AL, 166). The idea of the island and forest specifically as an outdoor laboratory recurs in a later episode in which Kingsley attempts to describe the mountains and valleys of Trinidad's Northern Range. Finding "clumsy words" inadequate to the task, he instructs the reader as follows: "The reader must fancy for himself the loveliest brook which he ever saw in Devonshire or Yorkshire, Ireland or Scotland. . . . Then let him transport his stream to the great Palm-house at Kew, stretch out the house up hill and down dale" (264). As with the prior episode in the forest, the image of the laboratory is employed at the moment when enunciation fails and the tropical landscape is rendered incommensurable. The allusions to British landscapes and Kew Gardens suggest that these "colonial grafts" are employed to shore up Kingsley's vision when it is most threatened with dissolution or a "topos of ineffability".<sup>24</sup>

Kingsley's promiscuous discourse – as he transplants images from one landscape to another – provides impetus for a utilitarian vision which appropriates the natural world in the name of science, even as it is evinced as all-important to man.<sup>25</sup> This promiscuity is illustrative of the combined techniques employed to justify the manipulation and transplantation of nature in the American tropics. Kingsley's promiscuity even affects the language he employs to describe the nature he finds in Trinidad. While the purpose of the authentic travel book was, in some sense, to represent the unfamiliar in familiar terms to the target audience, it likewise sought to validate the exoticism of the foreign place through reliable knowledge of peculiar inhabitants,

cultures and languages. Kingsley's use of words like "bower", "The High Woods", "English lawn" and "garden" set against the tropical environment suggests a continual exchange of terms with shifting meaning dependent on geographical location. As Froude remarks of various trees in the Port of Spain Botanical Gardens, "They had Old World names with characters wholly different" (FWI, 61).

In the age of science, the tropical "paradise" of the Americas appeared capable of restoring lost paradisiacal comforts to the temperate world through a range of products: medicines, decorative flora, foods, spices, fruits and woods. Kingsley considers this – mankind's (and metonymically Europe's) utilitarian benefit – to be the chief rationale and motivation for man's active uprooting and re-rooting of nature. With reference to the famous landscape architect William Andrews Nesfield, Kingsley remarks that he is able to "make landscapes . . . more beautiful than they are already by Nature". Continuing, he writes, "if foreign forms, wisely chosen for their shapes and colours, be added, the beauty may be indefinitely increased" (AL, 252). Though Kingsley is discussing botany, it is not difficult to see the analogy with the transplantation of people to the tropics. As the Americas and indeed islands so often represented *tabulae rasae* in European discourse, Caribbean islands, especially, were perceived as de facto laboratories for a number of professional European investigators: anthropologists, medical men, travelers, writers, poets and artists.

In Froude's travelogue, the delimitation of the term "experiment" takes on a more hysterical or cautionary note as he regularly returns to the potentially cataclysmic results of the laboratory. For Froude, self-governance in the British Caribbean is a "wild experiment"; to "try [such] an experiment . . . which if it fails is fatal" ultimately risks a second "Hayti, where they eat the babies, and no white man can own a yard of land" (FWI, 5, 50, 80). As is evident, nineteenth-century scientific discourse inflected travel narratives of the era, imbuing the terms *laboratory* and *experiment* with a protean meaning that manoeuvred from the vegetative to the societal. Nature and science were at the forefront of a revivification of a wider aesthetic appreciation of the world which relied on both observation and notions of the sublime. The eye of the traveller, artist and scientist and his or her respective "sense" impressions could be deemed part of an inseparable field of nineteenth-century discourse on nature in the American tropics.



# INNOCENT EYE/I IN THE TROPICAL PICTURESQUE

In his autobiography, Trollope describes his Caribbean travel book as “the best way of producing to the eye of the reader, and to his ear, that which the eye of the writer has seen and his ear heard”.<sup>26</sup> What he aims to universalize for the reader is primarily the visual and secondarily the aural. Sailing through the smallest of the Bocas, the Boca de Mona (Monkey’s Mouth), Trollope declares the entrance “by far the prettiest” and effuses that “No scenery can be more picturesque than that afforded by the entrance to Port of Spain” (*WISM*, 176). At root, the picturesque relies on the power of vision to substantiate a sight worthy of beholding. This emphasis of *worthiness* makes the picturesque conversely not merely a matter of sight alone, but a genre equally reliant on judgement and taste – holding a mirror up to art and seeking a reflection of artistry in nature. The location of the spectator of the scene, his or her fixed position or movement through places, remains tantamount; likewise, reference to past scenes, sights and landscapes corroborate the spectator’s authority as a visual guide. What qualifies as picturesque requires special faculties of aesthetic appreciation on the part of the viewer: he or she must be “conversant with . . . art”.<sup>27</sup> The picturesque therefore signals a shift from a “way of looking” into a “way of knowing”.<sup>28</sup>

Trollope, as a novelist, essayist, journalist and travel writer firmly yoked in the canon of great English literary figures, positions himself both in the Trinidadian scene and ideologically within the realms of those who are privileged to see. He is the connoisseur, the “knowing eye/I” who judges a whole range of sense impressions received by the eye through the mediating “I”: that which is *tasteful*, sensible, delightful, sublime, fantastic, well-ordered, pleasurable and so on.<sup>29</sup> Ostensibly his vision purveys the myth that the “eye” is impartial and transparent, ordering the tropical world coherently.<sup>30</sup> This element of ostensible transparency is also notable in Froude’s and Kingsley’s travelogues. At the start of his voyage, Froude, aged sixty-eight, claims that “old people can see some objects more clearly than young people. . . . They have no interest of their own to mislead their perception” (*EWI*, 15). Clarity, perspicacity and neutrality are proclaimed repeatedly by Froude, Kingsley and Trollope as the hallmark of their truthful observation. More often, the seemingly objective eye is deployed to displace the egoistic, subjective “I”. After a day in the mountains of Trinidad’s Northern Range, Kingsley writes, “the eye grows tired . . . with the monotonous surges of green woodland”

(*AL*, 262).<sup>31</sup> In introducing Port of Spain to the reader, Kingsley forgoes the typical subjective first-person “I” who sees, in favour of the second-person pronoun “you”. This second-person narrative address circumscribes rather dictatorially the scene which the reader would witness if *in situ*. Possibility of choice appears denied; the experience is universalized as that of the sensible traveller to the tropics; yet conversely it is a universalizing discourse which excludes many others – namely those born in, alongside long-term residents of, tropical America. In an attempt to remove the subjectivity of his views, Kingsley deploys the second-person pronoun to direct the supposed inevitable shock of Port of Spain’s cosmopolitan spread of people: “When you have ceased looking – even staring – at the black women and their ways, you become aware of the strange variety of races which people the city. Here passes an old Coolie Hindoo, with nothing on but his lungee round his loins, and a scarf over his head; a white bearded, delicate-featured old gentleman, with probably some caste-mark of red paint on his forehead” (*AL*, 89). Dictatorially, Kingsley virtually mobilizes his readers – speaking for and directing their actions, impressions and sensations. However, the action of the Other in this scene, the “Coolie Hindoo”, is marked by an unusual transition from definitive description to a hypothetical kind. From his definitive appearance (his “lungee”, “scarf” and white beard) at the outset, he is transformed into a far more impressionistic and protean figure, a man who is “probably” marked with a tilak on his forehead. This transition into the impressionistic illustrates a link to painting and the picturesque. The picturesque is largely defined by two principles: firstly, by “a desire to impose an order on landscape”; secondly, by a willingness to manipulate a view so that it fits the order being imposed upon it”.<sup>32</sup> Kingsley’s impressionism is indicative of such graphic manipulation, as he adds the finishing touches – a daub of red paint to the man’s forehead – just as he suggests that a “bright-eyed young lady” is “probably” this man’s daughter-in-law (*AL*, 89). Such manipulation belies the notion that such forms of seeing are innocent. No indication of the wider issues or voices of the subjects is attendant: poverty, hunger, violence, frustration and upset are kept out of the picture.<sup>33</sup>

Though far from static, another drive of the picturesque was its generally gravitational pull towards scenes of nature.<sup>34</sup> For Kingsley in Port of Spain, as with Trollope in Cienfuegos and Humboldt in tropical America more generally, the urban is either uninteresting or inferior to Europe; the “Government buildings [are] brick-built, pretentious, without beauty of form” (*AL*, 87).<sup>35</sup> If



the civilized world is Europe and its cities are the most advanced, then urban tropical America, by contrast, remains neophyte and lacking. Yet while the Port of Spain buildings are represented as "ugly", the saving grace of the city is its apparently fluid communication with nature. As Kingsley conjectures, even the buildings "after a few years" will begin "to look beautiful, because [they will be] embowered among noble flowering timber trees" (AL, 87).

The picturesque, far from being passive or innocent, actively operates in colonial narratives to propel the spectator towards the natural view which is never *here*, but always over *there*. In this sense, the genre could be considered another strategy of the innocent eye/I, justifying further exploration into the interior, the still contested *terra incognita*, under the guise of aesthetic wonder. That the colonial mission in Trinidad – whereas Trollope noted much of the island had "never been properly surveyed" – required further manpower to explore its interiors remains an unspoken subtext of the imperial traveller's romance with particular natural views (WISM, 184). The picturesque is merely represented as an innocent "way of seeing", primarily referential to art and beauty, propelling the eye/I deeper into the picture, which remains ever-elusive, always out of reach. Scanning the vista from Port of Spain, Froude picks out some waterworks in the hills of the Northern Range. It is this "first sight of the interior of the island" which impels him to enter, and penetrate, the "seen" scene "through jungles of flowering shrubs which were running wild" (EWI, 67). As he journeys along the mountain path, he encounters ex-slave freeholders' cabins and is struck by the surrounding tropical cornucopia: "luscious granadilla climbs among the branches; plantains throw their cool shade over the doors; oranges and limes and citrons perfume the air" (68). His progression into the heart of the view hints at a greater overload of sensory impression. He is all too aware of the latent danger lurking in this paradise: "There are snakes . . . as there were snakes in Eden."<sup>36</sup> Finally, Froude reaches the waterworks, which are "even more beautiful than we had been taught to expect. A dam has been driven across a perfectly limpid mountain stream" (69). What accounts for beauty under Froude's assessing eye is the waterworks' function and symbolism as a man-made device harnessing the power of nature for man's utility. Froude's description blends the industrial and non-industrial or "natural" landscapes into a harmonious aesthetic. Simon Ryan argues that "in the picturesque the utilitarian pressures of agriculture and aesthetic demands are reconciled."<sup>37</sup> Equally likely is that the picturesque may face utilitarian pressures from all

sides, the industrial included, as in Froude's evocation of the waterworks in which aestheticism and utility are inseparable.

In attracting the wandering eye/I to the heart of the view, the picturesque may also function paradoxically, enticing the traveller into places of potential physical or psychic threat, danger and dissolution. As the eye often draws its subjects to places spied many miles away, the reality of penetrating an opaque backdrop cannot be guaranteed by the visible. On entering hills, forests and traces skirting between landmarks, the traveller, though initially motivated by the visual, must discover all that was previously invisible. The picturesque, therefore, may well entice spectators into its antithesis, a non-picturesque world of the abject, a *locus terribilis*. Journeys into interior places in the American tropics are often played out within explorers' psyches as sites of potential dissolution. On hearing of the "Blue Basin", Froude's eye leads him through a trail, occasionally tailored for the "British tourist", until he reaches the illustrious waterfall (WISM, 71–72). In the tranquillity of the basin, Froude sketches the waterfall. Although, for him, the spot remains an Edenic, picturesque site for picnicking, swimming and sketching the waters' descent, the waterfall carries with it a profound, psychic "landscape for contemplating final things".<sup>38</sup> While the "perpendicular" fall poses no direct threat, Froude offers an unusual insight a few paragraphs later: a man poised to dive in the basin sees beneath him "a large dead python". Death, and the noxious reminders of terminal endings, lingers on the periphery of this otherwise idyllic scene.

In *At Last*, the rainforest – a well-established site of anxiety for the European slave-holding elite – serves a similar role for Kingsley, who is clearly drawn to investigate its interiors for some experience of the sublime in nature, much like the Romantic writers in the earlier part of the century. Yet on "entering the high woods", Kingsley's sense of self appears profoundly disturbed, as he writes of being overcome by "helplessness, confusion, awe, all but terror". He is "afraid at first to venture in fifty yards. Without a compass or the landmark of some opening to or from which he can look, a man must be lost . . . such a sameness is there in the infinite variety. . . . You can only wander on as far as you dare . . . carrying away a confused recollection of innumerable perpendicular lines" (157–58). The wild abundance of the forest vegetation, its incommensurability, impassability, prickliness and armoury, threaten Kingsley with physical and psychic destruction. An age-old trope of man and nature at war is rehearsed. A "labyrinth of wire-rigging" forces



Kingsley's party to hew their way through the bush with cutlasses, a "strong sedge-like Sclerias, with cutting edges to their leaves" risks abrasions, while the "Croc-chien", a plant with a "long, green, curved whip, armed with pairs of barbs" threatens to tear off human flesh (158, 168). The forest is reinvented as a terrifying anthropophagus devouring human beings in its midst. In both instances, Froude and Kingsley catalogue the potential dangers of Eden: that with beauty comes danger. Like all travellers' tales, their narratives emphasize the daring of their deeds and their survival in the face of peril. In this respect, their narratives highlight the risks of physical, as opposed to armchair, travel. The motivation here could be said to be twofold: to elevate their own actions, while presumably inspiring other courageous travellers to venture forth from the mother country to the colony.

The picturesque is one strategic device employed to reconcile European aesthetics with an alien tropical world, rendering the unfamiliar familiar. In the same instance that a sight is declared worthy of admiration, so it is often assessed – either consciously and subconsciously – for its potential utility, whether for society's leisure, economic profit, scientific expeditions, agriculture, industry, tastes, whims or aesthetics. Trollope's picturesque vision of Port of Spain's bay reveals no "pure" aestheticism, but rather one that links the land to its use by man and, perhaps more vitally, its *potential* use. As he nears Trinidad, he is struck by its abundant vegetation and fertility as trees sprout "forth from the sides of the rocks as though no soil were necessary for them". Flora here is teeming with possibilities and seemingly needs little subsistence to grow. "Soft-green smiling nooks" appear the "very spot for picnics", while "a little further" on, they reach a whaling station where the cetaceous prey "render up their oily tributes" (*WISM*, 177). In every instance, the landscape is rendered amenable, useful and consumable.<sup>39</sup>

If the eighteenth-century explosion of landscape gardening raised fresh controversies over "the ratio of art to nature", as tastes for the formal symmetry of the classical garden declined, so art as means of controlling nature remained a dominant post-Enlightenment ideology.<sup>40</sup> As Kingsley insists, "That Art can help Nature there can be no doubt."<sup>41</sup> The notion of a perfect natural world untouched by man, Kingsley argues, is for sentimentalists who "wish to controvert science" (*AL*, 252). Nature stands in contradistinction to "Art" and "science" – symbols of man's intervention in nature – as a potentially savage, anti-social entity threatening humankind. In the tropics particularly, "social plants are rare" and nature is always "grander . . . more

tyrannous and destroying" (95, 161). For this reason, it must be contained, as to yield to nature is to risk the degeneration or annihilation of civilization.

In the forests of the Northern Range, Kingsley stumbles across a camp "not yet arrived at so high a state of civilization". Submerged in a "tangle of logs, stumps, branches, dead ropes and nets of liane", the grounds of the house pose a difficult entrance. Yet, a "second glance" reveals some Indian corn which will be ready for cropping and, he surmises, will "richly repay the clearing" (283). Agriculture and civilization are closely entwined in Kingsley's vision, as the owner's clearing of the land shows his partial advance towards "civilization".<sup>42</sup> Man's hand in nature is necessary for his development, progress and survival in Kingsley's aesthetic, making a "mere clearing . . . a more beautiful place than the forest" (252). As a consequence of Kingsley's utilitarian view, a lodging-house in Tortuga is a "little paradise . . . far more beautiful than the forest out of which it had been hewn" (253). Conversely, the bush, a place inhabited by the "lawless squatter", a prevalent figure in nineteenth-century Trinidad due to the large tracts of unsettled land, represents a "contact zone" of anxiety.<sup>43</sup> Underlying Kingsley's vision is a utilitarian outlook, partly traceable to the "greatest happiness principle" championed by Mill and Bentham, but arguably more closely aligned with Hume's utilitarian aesthetics.

In his philosophical treatise, Hume proposes that the "beauty" of objects "is chiefly derived from their utility, and from their fitness for that purpose".<sup>44</sup> By way of exemplar, he states that "nothing renders a field more agreeable than its fertility. . . . I know not but a plain, overgrown with furze and broom . . . as beautiful as a hill covered with vines or olive trees."<sup>45</sup> This Humean aesthetic is detectable in Froude's, Kingsley's and Trollope's travel writing on Trinidad and tropical America.<sup>46</sup> Kingsley's vision of botany is also coloured by the usefulness of plants, as he distinguishes the myrtle for its "size, beauty and use" (*AL*, 274). In a similar vein, he justifies deforestation of the rainforest on the basis of utility, proposing that only "the useless timers" should be cleared. Yet his industrialism is tempered by a proportionate ecological utility, as he cautions that "if that jungle be once cleared off, the slow and careful work of ages has been undone" (311). The aestheticization of utility bears a long legacy in colonial Caribbean, with the plantation itself representing the paragon of such an idyllic vision – marrying the vision of the rural, abundant landscape with the productive management of the farmstead or garden.



In his autobiography, Trollope judges his Caribbean travelogue as "short . . . amusing, *useful*, and true" (*Autobiography*, 109; emphasis mine). As with Kingsley, utility shapes his notion of beauty. As a corollary, he lionizes British Guiana, the then greatest sugar-producing British colony in the Caribbean, as "the Elysium of the tropics . . . the transatlantic Eden" (*WISM*, 137). Pondering the flatness of its landscape, he ruminates, "what is the use of mountains? You can grow no sugar on them" (138). In short, the most beautiful Caribbean colony was the most productive. Beauty for beauty's sake, or the Kantian equivalent of non-useful aesthetic appreciation, is clearly out of the question in Trollope's account. A further Humean outlook on utility is evident in Trollope's perception of the market, value and money, all of which are equated with use. In contrast to Adam Smith and Karl Marx, Hume conflated utility and market value: "Fertility and value have a plain reference to use; and that to riches, joy, and plenty."<sup>47</sup>

This aggregation of value and utility separates, at least on the surface, Trollope from Kingsley, as the former champions the competitive marketplace as *useful*, while the latter, as a clergyman and advocate of Christian socialism, is sceptical of the moral benefits of laissez-faire capitalism. "The love of money", Trollope expounds, "is a good and useful love" (*WISM*, 154). Yet despite his criticism of "the mere brute tendencies of supply and demand", Kingsley nevertheless succumbs to the racist rhetoric of the plantocracy, positing the lazy "Negro" as pernicious. According to Kingsley, the "coaling system" demoralizes black labourers because they can "earn enough in one day to keep them in idleness, even in luxury" (*AL*, 21).<sup>48</sup>

The year that Trollope journeyed to Trinidad, Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* was published, altering forever man's place within the natural world. While Darwin's evolutionary hypothesis made polygenist theories untenable, scientific rationale for racism shifted to the possibility of degeneration.<sup>49</sup> At the start of his voyage, Froude remarks of a black boy on board his ship, "he had little more sense than a monkey". Describing his movements behind a grating, Froude writes that he is "curiously suggestive of the original from whom we are told now that all of us came" (*EWI*, 22). That Darwinian theory poses a crisis to Froude and Kingsley particularly is evident through their limited application, miscomprehension and alternative readings of competing evolutionary ideas.<sup>50</sup> Deeming the Sapajou monkey "a man and brother, plus a tail", Kingsley demonstrates a reading of evolution not entirely dissimilar to Jean-Baptiste Lamarck's theory of inheritance

of acquired characteristics, as he suggests the primate may "gradually cure himself and his children of those evil passions . . . and rise to the supremest heights of justice, benevolence, and purity" (*AL*, 111). While Lamarck subscribed to evolutionary progressivism and the notion that practised behaviour was inheritable, Kingsley places the natural world in an eschatological framework. Competing evolutionary theories collapse and concentrate anxieties over civilization. Both Froude and Kingsley consider the disparity between Britain's – generally England's – populace and their predecessors troubling. Both men abhor the idea, even as they consider it, that the British or English race has degenerated.<sup>51</sup> What each Victorian writer exposes is a great anxiety over the position of the white race in the natural world, particularly the tropics. In voyaging to the region, Froude, Kingsley and Trollope eschew myths of white degeneration, elevating their standing as superior specimens of human evolution in contrast to the tropical inhabitants they encounter.

The issue of whether the white race – and particularly the white male – was suited for the tropics, however, weighs heavily in the Victorian travelogue. Trollope, somewhat pessimistic about the "English" race's prospects, perceives them as civilizing birds of passage: "When sufficient of our blood shall have been infused . . . [with] those children of the sun . . . we may be ready, without stain to our patriotism, to take off our hats and bid farewell to the West Indies" (*WISM*, 68). As with Froude, who considered Britain's greatness to be bound up with those who sow the seed ("men who cleared and tilled the fields . . . and spread our race over the planet"), Trollope considers white male virility and autonomy as intrinsically linked to land cultivation (*EWI*, 31; *WISM*, 85).

Froude, Kingsley and Trollope seek to recast and redeploy the image of the tropical paradise to counter the possible nightmarish landscape which might ensue. From Kingsley's dismissals of the tropical degeneration of white men, to the repeated efforts by all three writers to re-inscribe "paradise" onto the tropics by means of the picturesque, the new mission presents itself as the repopulation of the British Caribbean by white men and women – especially those hailing from the mother country.<sup>52</sup> As Kingsley asks rhetorically, "Why should not many a young couple, who have education, refinement, resources in themselves, but are . . . unable to keep a brougham and go to London balls, retreat to some such [a Trinidadian] paradise as this[?]" His response is equally revealing: "A cultivated man and wife . . . might be useful also in their place; for each such couple would be a little centre of civilization for



the Negro, the Coolie" (AL, 130). The mission is made explicit, glimpsed momentarily. Ulysses's bow, which Froude contends must be strung for Britain's return to glory, must first be eulogized by writers, so that new heroes may come forward to take up the challenge. As Naipaul writes, the overriding concerns of Froude, Kingsley and Trollope appeared to be to "keep the estate productive", shoring up British possessions against risk.<sup>53</sup> Art, the picturesque-scanning eye of the travel writer and, ultimately, the product of the voyage, the travel book itself, were all to be kept in the service of empire.

The question as to why paradisiacal representations of Trinidad emerge alongside moments of potential danger in these travel accounts requires us to decode, as Jameson phrased it, the "political unconscious" inherent in the apparent textual contradictions.<sup>54</sup> All three writers discuss the contingency in which Trinidad will persist as a paradise to emphasize the equal or even greater loss to Britain – and, as they deem it, the world – if the colony is not properly managed. To read between the lines, between the written on the one hand, and the *impensé* ("unthought") and *non-dit* ("unspeakable") on the other, reveals a discourse of latent political intentions. British influence in Trinidad and tropical America appears equally under threat in light of a new rising hegemonic power in the region: the United States. Froude observes that "opinion in Cuba" holds "that America [the US] is the residuary legatee of all the islands, Spanish and English equally" (FWL, 293). Similarly, Trollope recalls a map he sees, entitled "The United States as they now are, and in perspective", which contains the cartography of "Mexico, Central America, Cuba, St. Domingo, and even poor Jamaica" (WISM, 191–92). The lament for Jamaica exposes the subtext rather nakedly. As the only British possession illustrated on the US map, its loss is rendered elegiac in sentimental tones. Service and relocation to the British Caribbean by British subjects is, therefore, a further bulwark against encroachment into British territory by the United States. The nostalgic potted histories recounted by Froude and Kingsley particularly, which tell of British blood spilt in the Caribbean Sea, are there to remind Britons of the cost of such Caribbean possessions to their Empire. While the probability of British Caribbean possessions being yielded up to others, either through means of self-government or Spanish, French or US administration, is considered almost inevitable by Froude and Trollope, a "sufficient" mingling of British blood with island residents is perceived by the latter as a palliative against complete cultural atrophy. In such a case, he surmises that "some white Governor with a white aide-de-camp and a white

private secretary – some three or four unfortunate white men" will lend "dignity" to "the throne of Queen Victoria's great-grandchild's grandchild". While avidly racist, Trollope's viewpoint reveals an insidious mission which is temporarily unmasked and unambiguous: "It is not enough for us to beget nations, civilize countries and instruct in truth and knowledge. . . . All this will not suffice unless also we can maintain a king over them!" (WISM, 68). In this lucid declaration, Trollope's political outlook is brought into the light. Britain's hegemony must be maintained, even when it appears to have waned. The subtext appears out in the open, revealed in a way which is left undisclosed in both Froude's and Kingsley's accounts. While it is impossible to know whether Froude or Kingsley would have concurred with Trollope, it is very likely that his text – the first published of the three – formed the reading material of his successors. As a literary precedent for their generation of travellers, it set the stage for Froude and Kingsley, who were both to follow in his footsteps. Both sought, in their own ways, solutions to a common imperial mission of ensuring that the British Caribbean not only remained in civilized hands, but would remain so in future.

The romance of all three writers appears to arise from a belief that each may be the last of a particular line of imperial travellers from the mother country to visit the island while it remained in British hands. They were not the only Victorians to write about Trinidadian travels, as figures like Baroness Brassey, Mrs A.C. Carmichael and William G. Sewell all published notable accounts of their visits or brief residency in Trinidad. However, Froude, Kingsley and Trollope collectively covered the post-emancipatory era when questions of self-governance were starting to come to the fore.<sup>55</sup> In some respects, they can be seen as representative of the last of a particular Victorian set of travellers, even if they were not the last British travellers to write about the island before its independence. The most notable British literary traveller to visit pre-independence Trinidad was probably Patrick Leigh Fermor, a figure who extended a British tradition of travel writing in which a mixture of sharp wit, keen observation and erudite acumen were all ingredients of the narrative. Yet where Leigh Fermor differs from his Victorian antecedents is with respect to his treatment of Caribbean nature and culture.<sup>56</sup> As opposed to his Victorian antecedents, his interest in Caribbean culture is much more pronounced and not divorced from his enjoyment of Caribbean nature, as he takes time to describe the Saga Boy culture of Port of Spain after the Second World War. Froude, Kingsley and Trollope pay far less



attention to Trinidad's urbanity, seeking rather the sublime sights of rural or natural Trinidadian landscapes. The bulk of their accounts are dedicated to abundant plantations or landscapes as yet unexploited by man. While V.S. Naipaul's infamous comments concerning an apparent lack of creativity in the Caribbean ("nothing was created in the West Indies") have on occasions been attributed to a reading of the colonial era, Froude, Kingsley and Trollope all appeared deeply concerned with the creative production of the island.<sup>57</sup> From new tropical medicines to unknown foodstuffs, Trinidad represented a treasure trove of new creative potential, all of which required fresh expertise and, most importantly, eyewitnesses to assess the untapped value lying just below the surface. The attention due to the human beings who were expected to labour for these goods would be left to later generations of writers.

## NOTES

1. Tobias Döring, *Caribbean-English Passages: Intertextuality in a Postcolonial Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2002), 40.
2. Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious* (London: Routledge, 2002).
3. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (London: Penguin, 2001); Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Penguin, 2003), 27; Jameson, *Political Unconscious*, 5.
4. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 9.
5. W.J.T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape", in *Landscape and Power*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 14.
6. W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 5.
7. Krista A. Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics: Tourism, Photography, and Framing the Caribbean Picturesque* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 22.
8. *Ibid.*, 21–22.
9. Mimi Sheller, *Consuming the Caribbean: From Arawaks to Zombies* (London: Routledge, 2003), 61.
10. James Anthony Froude, *The English in the West Indies, or, The Bow of Ulysses* (Marston Gate: Adamant Media, 2005), 51–52. Subsequent references are taken from this edition and appear parenthetically in the text as *EWI*.
11. For more on this, see Basil A. Reid, *Myths and Realities of Caribbean History* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), 98.

12. David Lowenthal, *West Indian Societies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 14.
13. John R. Gillis, *Islands of the Mind: How the Human Imagination Created the Atlantic World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 106.
14. *Ibid.*, 107.
15. Nancy Leys Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 42.
16. Alexander von Humboldt, *Views of Nature, or, Contemplations on the Sublime Phenomena of Creation*, trans. Elise C. Otté and Henry G. Bohn (London: H.G. Bohn, 1850), 155.
17. Édouard Glissant, *Caribbean Discourse: Selected Essays*, trans. Michael Dash (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981), 117; Antonio Benítez-Rojo, *The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective*, trans. James Maraniss, ed. Stanley Fish and Fredric Jameson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992), 4.
18. Édouard Glissant's interest in Faulkner is a good example of the perceived relationship between the Caribbean and the US South. See, for example, Édouard Glissant, *Faulkner, Mississippi* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).
19. Gillis, *Islands of the Mind*, 2.
20. The romanticized position of Asian labourers in the post-slavery landscape partly owes to Orientalist narratives, which pitted such peoples as belonging to an ancient civilization over the typically de-historicized "Negro". While such racial and hierarchical constructs were generally reified as the summation of a whole body and ethnographic discourses, the additional motivator for elevating these new labourers often lies sublimated in the subterranean subtext of the Trinidadian narrative. Anthony Trollope, *The West Indies and the Spanish Main* (Marston Gate: Adamant Media, 2006), 64, 66. Subsequent references are taken from this edition and appear parenthetically in the text as *WISM*.
21. Charles Kingsley, *At Last: A Christmas in the West Indies, The Works of Charles Kingsley* (London: Macmillan, 1880), 14:46. Subsequent references are taken from this edition and appear parenthetically in the text as *AL*.
22. D. Graham Burnett demonstrates how Raleigh was recast in the nineteenth century as an embryonic scientist and mercantile explorer. While Humboldt claimed to have demythologized El Dorado, locating it in Lake Amucu, Robert Schomburgk, the renowned explorer and surveyor of British Guiana, wrote "of the general correctness of Raleigh's descriptions". D. Graham Burnett, *Masters of All They Surveyed: Exploration, Geography, and a British El Dorado* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 27. See Alexander von Humboldt, "Preface",



- trans. Walter E. Roth, in *Robert Hermann Schomburgk's Travels in Guiana and on the Orinoco During the Years 1835–1839*, ed. Otto Alfred Schomburgk (Georgetown: Argosy Company, 1931), viii. See also Robert H. Schomburgk, introduction to *The Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana, with a Relation of the Great and Golden City of Manoa (Which the Spaniards Call El Dorado) . . . By Sir W. Raleigh, Knight* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1848), ix.
23. On Monos, a Trinidadian island lying in the northern Bocas, Kingsley notices a “low tree” and “racemes of little white flowers” smelling of honeysuckle and reflects that “it ought to be, if it be not yet, introduced to England”. As regards the rare Guacharo bird which, as Kingsley notes, “the great master” Humboldt “discovered . . . or rather described . . . to civilized Europe”, he regrets the bad weather that prevents his being able to “get one safe to the Zoological Gardens . . . [or] one or two corpses for the Cambridge Museum” (AL, 136, 40).
24. Döring describes the process by which tropical nature disrupts European concepts and, consequently, enunciation, as a “topos of ineffability” (*Caribbean-English Passages*, 156, 31). See Jill H. Casid, *Sowing Empire: Landscape and Colonization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 19.
25. Casid defines the term *promiscuous* in eighteenth-century colonial discourse as not merely sexual or reproductive, but equally related to “intermixture” (Casid, *Sowing Empire*, 20).
26. Anthony Trollope, *An Autobiography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1947), 109. Subsequent references are taken from this edition and appear parenthetically in the text.
27. Richard Payne Knight, *An Analytical Enquiry into the Principles of Taste* (London: T. Payne and J. White, 1808), 152.
28. John Barrell, *The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place, 1730–1840: An Approach to the Poetry of John Clare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 50, 59.
29. I am indebted to Nancy Stepan for this phraseology. Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature*, 36.
30. Pratt discusses the power of the imperial “eye” to both essentialize and cloak the viewer in narratives of “anti-conquest” – a mode of discourse whereby Europeans represent their innocence, while avowing their superiority equally.
31. After a week in the West Indies, Trollope proffers a similar ostensible truism that “the eye soon becomes accustomed to the black skin and the thick lip” (WISM, 44).
32. Barrell, *Idea of Landscape*, 58.
33. In a discussion of the urban picturesque, Benedict Giamo maintains that the

- genre is characterized by its inability “to confront the descriptive analogues of poverty, such as hunger, desensitization, hopelessness, dependency, and withdrawal”. Benedict Giamo, *On the Bower: Confronting Homelessness in American Society* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1989), 62.
34. See Allen Carlson, *Nature and Landscape: An Introduction to Environmental Aesthetics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 27.
35. In the opening chapter of *At Last*, “Outward Bound”, Kingsley declines a visit to the town on Water Island, claiming that he “came to see Nature, not towns” (17). For more on Humboldt’s perspective on the New World, see Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature*, 40–41.
36. Though Raleigh likened tropical America to paradise, he rejected it as the site of paradise, along with theoretical positioning of paradise as the “whole earth” or a spot “south of the equinoctial line”. Following biblical testimonies, he believed that paradise resided in Mesopotamia. See Charles W.J. Withers, “Geography, Enlightenment and the Paradise Question”, in *Geography and Enlightenment*, ed. David N. Livingstone and Charles W.J. Withers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 71.
37. Simon Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 76.
38. Burnett, *Masters of All*, 192.
39. There are echoes of Jonson’s poem “To Penshurst” and its Arcadian world of plenty, where in the estate’s ponds, “Bright eels . . . leap on land / Before the fisher, or into his hand”. Trollope considers that “the whaling huts are very picturesque”, yet adds that they “do not say much for the commercial enterprise of the proprietors”. In Trollope’s portrayal, a seeming contradiction or opposition presents itself between the aesthetic and utilitarian; yet, again, if the remit of the picturesque is expanded to potential utility there is no contradiction. See Margaret W. Ferguson, Mary Jo Salter and Jon Stallworthy, *The Norton Anthology of Poetry* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996), 297.
40. Ronald Paulson, *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 20.
41. A similar view of the relationship between art and nature is expressed by Addison in a 1712 edition of *The Spectator*: “we find the Works of Nature still more pleasant, the more they resemble those of Art”. See Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, ed. Donald Frederic Bond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 3:550 (no. 414, 25 June 1712).
42. Robert Young contends that the Romantic tradition saw “culture”, synonymous in early English usage with soil cultivation and “agri-culture”, as “the term that



came in between the nature/civilization opposition". Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995), 31, 42. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 6.

44. David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature: Being an Attempt to Introduce the Experimental Method of Reasoning into Moral Subjects* (London: T. and J. Allman, 1817), 44.

45. *Ibid.*

46. Even a notable critic of the plantocracy, William Sewell, is not immune to this utilitarian aesthetic, as he "surveys the splendid picture of cultivation" of the Naparima district. See William G. Sewell, *The Ordeal of Free Labor in the British West Indies* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1862), 120.

47. Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, 44–45. Hume's position conveniently smooths over Smith's example of diamonds and water, whereby the former possesses great value but is of little use, in antithesis to water, which has little value but is of great use. Karl Marx defines the distinction between utility and market value accordingly: "when commodities are exchanged, their exchange-value manifests itself as something totally independent of their use-value". See Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert C. Tucker (New York: Norton, 1978), 305.

48. The "coaling system" of which Kingsley wrote refers to the industrial organization of coal stations, whereby labourers, generally men and women of African heritage, were paid to haul coal in baskets for refuelling ships. For more on this, see Anyaa Anim-Addo, "A Wretched and Slave-like Mode of Labor: Slavery, Emancipation, and the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company's Coaling Stations", *Historical Geography* 39 (2011): 65–84.

49. Young, *Colonial Desire*, 13, 16.

50. With reference to Kingsley, Amar Wahab cites S.K. Sharma's discussion of the "Victorian compromise", which sought to reconcile Christian ideology and scientific discourse. See Amar Wahab, "'Wild, Yet Prospect': Inventing Tropical Nature in Victorian Trinidad", in *What Is the Earthly Paradise?: Ecocritical Responses to the Caribbean*, ed. Chris Campbell and Erin Somerville (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishers, 2007), 56.

51. Kingsley writes, "There were heroes in England in those days. Are we, their descendants, degenerate from them? I, for one, believe not." Froude's response is even more adamant: "I do not believe in the degeneracy of our race." See Froude, *English in the West Indies*, 14; Kingsley, *At Last*, 6.

52. "And yet men say that the Englishman loses his energy in a tropic climate"; see Kingsley, *At Last*, 224.

53. V.S. Naipaul, *The Loss of El Dorado: A Colonial History* (London: Picador, 2001), 352.

54. See Jameson, *Political Unconscious*.

55. Perceiving civilization as "retrograding" in the Republic of New Granada, where universal suffrage was granted to all, Trollope is especially sceptical of its results. It is more than likely that he has Britain's Caribbean possessions in mind here. See Trollope, *WISM*, 197.

56. Recent ecocritical studies of the Caribbean, such as the critical collection edited by Elizabeth DeLoughrey et al., draw attention to the fact that "the dialectic between Caribbean nature and culture has not been brought into productive relation" – a particular legacy of the colonial era. Elizabeth M. DeLoughrey, Renée K. Gosson and George B. Handley, eds., *Caribbean Literature and the Environment: Between Nature and Culture* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005), 1–2.

57. V.S. Naipaul, *The Middle Passage: Impressions of Five Societies – British, French and Dutch – in the West Indies and South America* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993), 29.